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	EB-00	EUR-00	VC-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-00
	L-00	AC-01	NEA-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01
	PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00	ACE-00	P-00	SP-00	SSO-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-02	G-00
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FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6648
NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY
RWANDA COLLECTIVE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 HARARE 003959

SIPDIS

DEPT FOR A/S RICE AND PDAS POWELL

USUN FOR HOLBROOKE

NSC FOR GAYLE SMITH

E.O. 12958: DECL: 07/18/2010
TAGS: [PREL](#) [PGOV](#) [MOPS](#) [BY](#) [TX](#) [SF](#)
SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER ZUMA SHARES VIEWS ON BURUNDI WITH
SPECIAL ENVOY WOLPE

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CLASSIFIED BY SPECIAL ENVOY HOWARD WOLPE FOR REASONS 1.5
(B) AND (D).

1. (C) SUMMARY. SPECIAL ENVOY HOWARD WOLPE SHARED WITH SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN MINISTER DR. NKOSAZANA DLAMINI-ZUMA JULY 17 USG CONCERNS ABOUT ACHIEVING A SUSTAINABLE PEACE IN BURUNDI. HE RELATED THE CONTENT OF HIS DISCUSSIONS IN CAPE TOWN WITH FACILITATOR NELSON MANDELA AND HIS WORD OF CAUTION TO MANDELA ABOUT THE DANGER POSED BY ARRIVING AT A PEACE AGREEMENT BEFORE THE PARTIES HAD ATTAINED SUFFICIENT OWNERSHIP OF THE AGREEMENT. MOREOVER, WOLPE OBSERVED, GAPS REMAINED ON CORE ISSUES. FOREIGN MINISTER ZUMA EXPRESSED SATISFACTION OVER MANDELA'S DECISION TO PUSH BACK THE JULY 20 DATE HE HAD SET FOR SIGNING A BURUNDI PEACE ACCORD. ALTHOUGH MANDELA HAS ANNOUNCED A NEW SIGNING DATE OF AUGUST 28, ZUMA IS CONFIDENT HE WILL ADJUST THAT DATE IF HE SEES A PROBLEM DEVELOPING. ZUMA EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE FEASIBILITY OF MANDELA'S VISION OF A UN BODYGUARD CONTINGENT TO PROTECT LEADERS OF THE 19 BURUNDI POLITICAL PARTIES. SHE HAS ADVISED MANDELA TO REVIEW THE UN CHARTER TO SEE IF THE PROPOSAL WOULD EVEN FIT THE CHARTER. ALTERNATIVELY, THE PROPOSAL COULD BE TAKEN FOR ACTION TO THE BODY OF GREAT LAKES PRESIDENTS, CHAIRED BY MUSEVENI, RATHER THAN TO THE UN ZUMA PRAISED MANDELA FOR THE PROGRESS HE HAS MADE IN THE BURUNDI PEACE PROCESS AND ENCOURAGED SPECIAL ENVOY WOLPE TO CONTINUE DIALOGUE WITH MANDELA. MANDELA IS CORRECT, ZUMA ASSERTS, TO PUSH THE ARUSHA PROCESS ALONG, BUT HE SHOULD ALSO BE MORE PATIENT. SHE WAS PLEASED TO HEAR THAT THE U.S. HAS DEPOSITED THE USD 500,000 PLEDGED IN SUPPORT OF THE ARUSHA PROCESS AND THAT IT WILL PROVIDE AN ADDITIONAL USD 500,000. ZUMA SUGGESTED THAT ONCE A DRAFT PEACE ACCORD IS ACHIEVED,

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EACH PARTY SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO PUT ON PAPER ITS THOUGHTS ABOUT THE DRAFT SO THAT THE FACILITATION TEAM CAN SEE WHERE THE DIFFERENCES ARE AND WORK OUT A TIMELY SUSTAINABLE COMPROMISE. SHE EXPLAINED THAT IT IS THE PARTIES THAT MUST LIVE WITH THE FINAL ACCORD, AS IT WILL SHAPE THEIR LIVES AND THEIR COUNTRY'S FUTURE. END SUMMARY.

2. (C) GREAT LAKES SPECIAL ENVOY HOWARD WOLPE MET 7/17 IN PRETORIA WITH SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN MINISTER NKOSAZANA DLAMINI-ZUMA AT HER HOME ON THE PRESIDENTIAL COMPOUND. AMBASSADOR LEWIS, DEPUTY SPECIAL ENVOY JAMES YELLIN, SPECIAL ADVISOR JOHN PRENDERGAST, AND POL COUNSELOR (NOTETAKER) ACCOMPANIED. JERRY MATSILA, DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (DFA) ACTING DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR AMERICAS, SAT IN ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN SIDE. SEPTELS REVIEW DISCUSSIONS ON THE DRC AND CANDIDACY FOR THE UN SECURITY SEAT CURRENTLY HELD BY NAMIBIA.

CONVEYING APPRECIATION YET CAUTION

13. (C) WOLPE INITIATED WITH A BRIEF OF HIS MEETING JULY 16 WITH DFA DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR AFRICA, WELILE NHLAPO, AND THE MORNING OF JULY 17 IN CAPE TOWN WITH FACILITATOR NELSON MANDELA (BOTH MEETINGS REPORTED SEPTELS). WOLPE SAID HE CONVEYED TO MANDELA U.S. APPRECIATION FOR THE PROGRESS THAT HAD BEEN ACHIEVED TO DATE IN THE QUEST FOR A SUSTAINABLE BURUNDI PEACE. AT THE SAME TIME, HE CAUTIONED OF THE DANGER POSED BY ARRIVING AT AN AGREEMENT BEFORE THE PARTIES HAD ATTAINED SUFFICIENT OWNERSHIP OF THE AGREEMENT. WOLPE SAID
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HE HAD ALSO POINTED OUT THAT WHILE THE PARTIES CONCURRED IN SOME AREAS, GAPS REMAINED ON CORE ISSUES. HIS THEME EXPRESSED TO BOTH NHLAPO AND MANDELA HAD BEEN THE IMPORTANCE OF "SUSTAINABILITY" OF A PEACE ACCORD.

14. (C) THERE WAS ALSO DANGER, WOLPE SAID, IN SIGNING A PEACE AGREEMENT BEFORE A CEASE-FIRE WAS IN PLACE. WOLPE SAID MANDELA HAD BEEN ATTENTIVE TO THIS POINT AND HAD SPOKEN OF THE NEED FOR A PUBLIC DECLARATION BY THE REBELS IN ADVANCE OF AN AGREEMENT, COMMITTING TO A CEASE-FIRE THAT WOULD BECOME EFFECTIVE WITH THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT. MANDELA HAD ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED, WOLPE SAID, THAT THE ISSUE OF TRANSITIONAL LEADERSHIP OF BURUNDI WAS STILL NOT RESOLVED. IN ADDITION, OTHER COMPLICATED QUESTIONS REMAINED UNRESOLVED, SUCH AS, WHO IS A "POLITICAL PRISONER". STILL, WOLPE SAID, MANDELA HAD NOW, CONTRARY TO AN EARLIER DECLARATION, RECOGNIZED THE IMPRACTICABILITY OF IMMEDIATELY MOVING THE PEACE PROCESS TO BURUNDI. HE WILL INSTEAD OPEN A FACILITATOR'S OFFICE IN BUJUMBURA TO ASSIST IN PREPARING FOR THE TRANSITION. WHILE MANDELA AGREES THAT SIGNING OF AN AGREEMENT CANNOT OCCUR ON JULY 20, HE HAS NOW ANNOUNCED THAT HE EXPECTS TO CONCLUDE SUCH AN AGREEMENT ON AUGUST 28. ZUMA RESPONDED THAT SHE WAS GLAD THAT THE JULY 20 SIGNING DATE HAD BEEN MOVED AND ADDED, SUBSEQUENTLY, THAT "EVEN IF HE HAS ANNOUNCED SIGNING ON AUGUST 28, HE WILL

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ADJUST THAT IF HE SEES A PROBLEM."

UN OR COUNTRY BODYGUARD CONTINGENT

15. (C) WOLPE ALSO SHARED WITH ZUMA MANDELA'S VISION OF A UN BODYGUARD CONTINGENT THAT WOULD OFFER PROTECTION FOR ALL LEADERS OF THE 19 PARTIES AT ARUSHA. IF THIS WERE NOT FEASIBLE, MANDELA HAD TOLD WOLPE, THEN A COUNTRY COULD BE ASKED TO ASSUME THAT RESPONSIBILITY, ALTHOUGH NOT SOUTH AFRICA IN ORDER TO AVOID THE APPEARANCE THAT HE, AS A SOUTH AFRICAN, WAS PROMOTING A ROLE FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

16. (C) ZUMA SAID SHE HAD SPOKEN BRIEFLY, NOT EXTENSIVELY, WITH MANDELA AND HE HAD MENTIONED TO HER ALL THE ELEMENTS WOLPE HAD RAISED, INCLUDING SIGNING AN AGREEMENT ON JULY 20.

ALL INDICATIONS WERE, SHE CONTINUED, THAT A SIGNING ON THAT DATE WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE; SHE WELCOMED THE NEWS THAT MANDELA HAD MOVED UP THE PROSPECTIVE SIGNING DATE. ON THE MATTER OF UN BODYGUARDS, ZUMA SAID SHE HAD ADVISED MANDELA TO LOOK AT THE UN CHARTER TO SEE IF SUCH A PROPOSAL WOULD FIT. IF THE INTENT IS TO OFFER PROTECTION FOR A FEW INDIVIDUALS, PERHAPS THIS COULD BE TAKEN UP BY THE BODY OF GREAT LAKES PRESIDENTS, CHAIRED BY PRESIDENT MUSEVENI, RATHER THAN BY THE UN. MANDELA WILL DISCUSS THE ISSUE WITH THE OTHER PRESIDENTS AT THE ARUSHA MEETING ON JULY 19, ZUMA SAID. MANDELA HAD FEARED, ZUMA CONTINUED, THAT INDIVIDUAL NEGOTIATORS MIGHT BE KILLED BY THOSE WHO QUESTIONED THEIR LEGITIMACY TO NEGOTIATE ON BEHALF OF OTHERS. SHE NOTED

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THAT MANY OF THESE NEGOTIATORS REPRESENTED THEMSELVES ONLY. ZUMA REMARKED THAT MANDELA "HAS DONE VERY WELL AND IS LEARNING ABOUT BURUNDI AS HE GOES ALONG. HE STARTED LATE, BUT HAS BEEN BRIEFED. EVEN GOING TO BURUNDI HAS OPENED HIS EYES AND HE IS ABLE TO TALK WITH BURUNDIANS OF ALL PERSUASION." SHE SURMISED THAT MANDELA BENEFITED BY INTERACTION WITH OTHERS ON THE ISSUES. "IT IS IMPORTANT," SHE ADVISED WOLPE, "THAT YOU KEEP A DIALOGUE GOING WITH HIM."

STRUCTURING A SUSTAINABLE PEACE DOCUMENT

17. (C) WOLPE EXPRESSED TO ZUMA HIS CONCERN THAT IT MIGHT TAKE UNTIL THE END OF THE YEAR TO REACH A SUSTAINABLE ACCORD. BOTH NHLAPO AND DON MATTEO ZUPPI BELIEVE THAT THE AGREEMENT DOCUMENT NEEDS TO BE DIGESTED BY THE PARTIES. THERE WILL BE DIFFICULTIES ON THE LARGER ISSUES, EVEN ON THE PROPOSAL OF A 50-50 SPLIT OF REPRESENTATION IN THE BURUNDI ARMY. AT SOME POINT, WOLPE SAID, THE FIVE OR SIX KEY PLAYERS WILL NEED TO BE BROUGHT TOGETHER TO RESOLVE ALL REMAINING ISSUES.

18. (C) ZUMA SUGGESTED THAT ONCE THE DOCUMENT IS RECEIVED, EACH PARTY SHOULD BE ASKED TO PUT HIS THOUGHTS ABOUT THE DOCUMENT ON PAPER SO THAT THE FACILITATION TEAM CAN SEE WHERE THE DIFFERENCES ARE AND WORK OUT A SUSTAINABLE COMPROMISE. ZUMA EXPLAINED THAT THE PARTIES "HAVE TO LIVE WITH" THE FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT. "IT WILL AFFECT THEIR LIVES. IT HAS TO SHAPE THE FUTURE OF THEIR COUNTRY. SUSTAINABILITY MEANS LIVING WITH IT AND YOU HAVE TO BE SURE THEY CAN LIVE WITH IT." SHE CONTINUED: "I THINK HE (MANDELA) IS RIGHT TO

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PUSH THE PROCESS TO MOVE, BUT HE SHOULD FACILITATE AGREEMENT. HE SHOULD BE JUST A LITTLE BIT PATIENT." HOWEVER, SHE ADDED THAT SHE THOUGHT MANDELA'S ACTIONS WERE INTENDED PRIMARILY TO PUSH THE PARTIES ALONG.

19. (C) WOLPE ALSO ADVISED ZUMA THAT THE USD 500,000 PLEDGED BY THE U.S. IN SUPPORT OF THE ARUSHA PROCESS HAS BEEN DEPOSITED AND AN ADDITIONAL USD 500,000 WILL FOLLOW. ZUMA EXPRESSED SATISFACTION WITH THIS NEWS. SHE ADDED THAT MANDELA HAS ACTUALLY DONE VERY WELL. LAST YEAR, BEFORE NYERERE DIED, MUCH DISCUSSION ABOUT BURUNDI HAD TAKEN PLACE BUT THOSE TALKS HAD NOT INCLUDED THE REBELS. WOLPE SECONDED ZUMA'S OBSERVATION, ADDING THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO DISCUSSION ON CORE ISSUES UNTIL MANDELA BECAME FACILITATOR. ZUMA AGAIN EXPRESSED THE NEED FOR PATIENCE "SO THAT THE GOOD WORK IS SUSTAINED" AND INDICATED HER INTENTION TO TALK TO MANDELA WHEN HE RETURNED FROM ARUSHA AFTER HIS MEETINGS ON JULY 20.

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